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ABSTRACT

This study investigated English teachers' beliefs about how recent legislated changes had affected aspects of their working lives and the extent to which centrally determined objectives were already incorporated into schools' programs of development. Data were collected in the 1991-92 and 1995-96 school years. In the first phase, interviews with English teachers asked about their responses to the 1988 Education Reform Act of England, which introduced national standards, standardized testing and assessment, changes in budgetary control, and new structures for school governance. In the second study phase, teachers from several other countries were interviewed about characteristics and antecedents of the nominated change and the impact of the change on their work lives. Data analysis indicate that many teachers complied overtly with change requirements while reserving the right to maintain freedom of thought and action when possible. The educational changes that most affected teachers' work over time were those related to curriculum and pedagogy, which caused a great deal of anxiety and confusion. When compared with teachers from other countries, English teachers were overwhelmingly positive about change. Few considered themselves resisters. The impact of change was greatest on the working lives of older teachers. (Contains 3 tables, 2 figures, and 11 references.) (SM)

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A ROUNDTABLE PRESENTATION

RECEPTIVENESS AND RESISTANCE TO EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

EXPERIENCES OF ENGLISH TEACHERS IN THE 1990S.

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Receptiveness and Resistance to Educational Change:

The English Teachers' Response to a Decade of Change, 1988-98

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Introduction

In the outpouring of writings about educational change, its processes and effects Fullan (1991,1993), Hargreaves (1994), Miles and Seashore Lewis (1992), Miles and Huberman (1984), the teacher's voice has often been missing. Since teachers are the key agents in the implementation and facilitation of change, an English research team had begun in 1991, to study how teachers felt about the ways in which recent legislated changes had affected aspects of the teacher's working life and the extent to which centrally-determined objectives were already incorporated into schools' programmes of development. This was Phase 1 of a study that later developed as a comparative study under the auspices of the Consortium for Cross-Cultural Research whose members were aware of educational reform movements world-wide and sought to understand how the experiences of schools and teachers might lead to a more effective handling of change.

Researchers from the nine countries[1] taking part in the second phase of the study had a broader brief than in phase 1. This was to describe and examine any of the changes that teachers in these countries felt had been significant for them and their work and to explore with them the perceived influence of the origin of the change, its objectives, the teacher's role in implementing the change, factors both helping and hindering implementation, associated changes in work style, routines and relationships as well as their emotional reactions to the experience. Such an examination in a cross-cultural, comparative framework might yield guidelines for policy-makers and school administrators.

This paper is primarily concerned with the English experience that can be better understood if it is placed, first of all, in the context of recent history. The methodology of the study will then be described, followed by the first phase, 1991 - 92 , moving to an account of the second phase, 1993 - 96. Data from the two phases

are then compared to examine changes over time and brief reference is made to the cross-cultural data collected in phase 2 to indicate the nature and consequences of similar reform movements elsewhere. Finally, some understandings from the study about the nature and role of the change process in major structural reforms are drawn together with their implications for policy making.

Phase 1: Background.

In this study, 'educational change' was interpreted in the broadest sense - from new approaches to the teaching of a particular topic through whole school policy initiatives to legislative changes brought about by state or national governments. 'Change' is thus used to refer to innovations at classroom or school level as well as to reforms and reconstructions of the whole or parts of the education system of a country. In effect, practically all the cooperating secondary teachers and Head teachers in the English samples nominated changes introduced by the Education Reform Act of England and Wales, (1988)[2]

Briefly, the Act introduced four main reforms:

1 a national curriculum for all schools in England and Wales,

2 an associated procedure for testing and assessment of all pupils up to the age of 16,

3 the handing over of budgetary control to the schools from the Local Education Authorities, and

4 new structures for the governance of schools to strengthen the roles of school governors in the day-to day work of school administration.

These reforms had been in the pipeline for a number of years and receptiveness to the proposals was initially positive. However, the introduction in 1992 of the testing and assessment programme met with considerable hostility from the profession from its inception over the complexity and time consumed by the procedures. Teachers, in particular, claimed that they had been insufficiently consulted and a Working Party was set up to recommend forms of the national curriculum that would be workable and acceptable to schools. They were widely discussed and, by 1993, it was possible for a powerful, independent, report by the National Commission on Education (1993) to say of the revised National Curriculum:

"The change has been very widely welcomed both by schools and by teachers and by the wider public, including parents. We have found no desire on the part of anybody to go back on it."

The remaining changes in the Reform Act were less controversial. Delegated budgeting was widely welcomed in granting greater autonomy to schools, and the revision of school governance was not resisted.

Receptiveness and Resistance.

Some clarification of the title of these roundtables may be in order before proceeding further. Is there an implicit suggestion that teachers should be passively 'receptive' of change initiatives and uncritical of how they are introduced? If so, the English experience will soon dismiss such expectations. The English research was not guided by the search for strategies that could reconcile reluctant teachers to cooperate in changes designed and introduced without consultation with the teaching profession. We were more concerned with those factors that helped or hindered implementation such as teachers' perceptions of their resource and training needs, how far teachers were themselves willing and able to initiate changes and how centrally determined objectives were incorporated into schools' programmes of development.

These issues guided our thinking in embarking on this study. In one sense, receptiveness and resistance can be regarded as opposite ends of an attitudinal continuum. But we have to ask 'receptive or resistant to what?' for it soon became clear that those who were kindly disposed to one aspect of the reforms were hostile to others. Today, the climate for receptiveness of government-inspired educational policies has steadily deteriorated, as the result of a long-standing campaign on the part of politically inspired groups to devalue schools and teachers, which culminated in 'naming and shaming' those who had failed to reach officially set targets. (Mortimore & Mortimore, 1998) It is the nature of the factors inducing positive or negative effects that are important to this enquiry.

The phase 1 study: methodology

This was a qualitative study based on the accounts given by teachers to interviewers of their experiences of recent change. Teachers' initial reactions to the 1988 reform

package were explored in interviews with ten experienced Headteachers and 40 teachers from 10 secondary schools situated in a wide area covering South and West Yorkshire, Humberside and North Derbyshire. Schools were chosen by catchment area to represent the full socio-economic spectrum and varied in size from 288 students (about to merge) to 1434 (recently merged). Heads were interviewed individually and separately from groups of four teachers in the same schools to determine their major concems about current educational changes. We requested that each school should include in the group a mid-career teacher, a senior teacher and a relatively new teacher recruited in the last 5 years, (this proved difficult, one school having had only two new teachers in 20 years). Teachers were chosen to represent different subject areas and levels of responsibility while keeping a gender balance.

The form of the interviews was very open and aimed to record teachers' views on the most significant changes for them in major areas currently under review. Inevitably these turned on the, imposed changes just described, the assessment of students and the financial management of schools. (Poppleton, 1995,1996)

All the teachers agreed to the tape recording of the interviews. All recordings were transcribed and submitted to the interviewees for confirmation. Working from the interview transcripts, the first step in the analysis of the data was to identify common themes, issues and categories which give rise, by a process of induction, to concepts having general explanatory power. They arose in the process of acquiring intense acquaintance with the data (Ball, 1987). In the case of the 1991 study, the comments were made as the reforms were being implemented and in a period when the major concerns of the teachers were with the practical problems of implementing the National Curriculum and its associated schemes of assessment.

In interpreting the data, we must recognise the constant interplay between the concepts that emerge from the data and the preexisting conceptualisations of the researchers based on their understanding of the micro- and macro- contexts previously outlined (Miles & Huberman, 1984). Figure I shows the reactions in the teachers' own words taken from these interviews together with their integration into broader categories and some of the resulting implications for the schools and teachers.

training to prepare them with the new skills for delivering the curriculum. These anxieties are often vividly expressed by the use of metaphors such as 'working in the dark', 'moving the goal posts' 'being pushed' 'treasured slots'. Other points to note are

1) insecurity arose from an almost complete lack of detailed planning and consultation with schools before the curriculum was introduced and inadequate representation of teachers on the working parties.

2) being pushed occurred from a suspicion that problems of implementation came from the expression of a particular political ideology rather than any educational development. Formerly, decisions about the curriculum had rested with the Local Education Authorities but had, in practice, been largely in the hands of the schools and the teachers themselves.

3) pressures arose from lack of match between existing staff competencies (the image of the teacher as a subject specialist) and the needs of the new curriculum including cross-curricular themes requiring greater flexibility of approach.

4) inappropriateness of methods of assessment in some subjects ignored excellent developments such as the 'records of achievement' already operational in schools made new task demands and defined training needs in certain new subject areas.

5) A restrictive time frame for implementation and inconsistencies of resourcing being experienced by schools and teachers were frequently mentioned.

The head teachers

The head teachers did not seem to afford the National Curriculum and its problems quite so high a priority and were much more concerned with the recently devolved management responsibilities for organisation, finance, staffing and development of a general school policy. While some of the head teachers did share their colleagues concerns and articulated them eloquently, they were more likely than their teachers to stress the positive potential of the National Curriculum in terms of standardisation consistency and balance but also, to stress the practical difficulties of implementing all the changes in a situation described as "death by innovation" Faced with administrative and assessment press from government as well as subject entrenchment and skill development needs from the teachers, the Heads were turning their minds to innovative practices in order to make possible the management of a modern educational institution. According to one Head, new management structures would

"...advise the head teacher on the appropriate allocation of attention to the following points: the management of the curriculum area on a split-site school; the integration of one or more curriculum themes or issues; responsibilities for specific subjects within the curricular area ... this is really a prompt sheet for imaginative management"

Many of the contributions made by the Heads were dominated by a new management jargon of delivery, management procedures, elective organisation, cost effectiveness and the introduction of new incentive allowances to correspond with the key stages of the national curriculum. e.g.,

"The big difference has been to get our hands on the money. The process has been quite fascinating and extremely instructive."

However, problems were created when existing staff competencies did not match the needs of the new curriculum as a whole. Then senior managers in schools had to be very flexible in creating teams of teachers in departmental or multi-departmental structures who could be more effective in delivering the curriculum than if the approach remained the single teacher teaching his/her own subject only. These developments would need specific support from the senior management team but would be likely to encounter substantial barriers arising from the image of the teacher as a subject specialist and the financial barrier of insufficient money to support the development of such methods of working , in spite of the optimism expressed above.

It seemed that we were witnessing the development and hardening of two independent sub-cultures in the schools; the management culture of the senior management teams and the classroom practitioner culture of the teachers. Nevertheless, Heads viewed the compulsory nature of the curriculum as helping pupils and as giving clear expectations for teachers to work towards in those subjects which lack a strongly organised hierarchical structure. It is clear that all aspects of the change interacted to produce a complex set of attitude and expectations

The Teacher's voice (1995/96

Because of the different structure of the interview schedules, it is impossible to present a breakdown of the 1995 results under the headings used in 1991. Also, by 1995, the reforms had worked their way through the system and taken over the secondary teachers' work lives. We can, however, summarise the findings under the

categories that emerged as teachers spoke feelingly of their experiences. These are presented in Figure 2.

Figure 2

The Teacher's Voice
(1995/96)

Comments	Categories	Implications
we cover a greater range of activities; the way I teach hasn't changed, but what I teach has; schemes of work are more formalised. Need finer planning.	Task awareness	Curriculum planning
a huge increase in paper work; most time in school spent on administrative tasks; horrendous growth in meetings	Work overload	Role conflicts
a rift between younger and older teachers who won't change; lot more insular; good subject teachers who can't coordinate	School and teacher Dysfunction	Greater 'Balkanisation'
more child-centred in learning from experience (music) a whole different approach when talking to chilfren (science) more awareness of teaching outcomes (geography).	Greater flexibility of teaching method	More variable pedagogy
I need more time for recording pupil progress. I prioritise more, am more efficient.	Time press	Continued work organisation need

The educational changes that had most affected the teachers' work in 1991 and remained a major source of concern in 1995 were those related to curriculum and pedagogy. They derived directly from the introduction of the National Curriculum and were, initially, a source of great anxiety and confusion about, not to say hostility. By 1995, the response was much more considered, and less generalized, in the majority of cases. In spite of what was experienced as a massive encroachment on the teachers' time, both in school and out, on recording pupils' achievement and in meetings spent on collaboratively planning curriculum development (even if it was contrived collegiality), gains had been experienced from more flexible and variable pedagogies and more collaborative ways of working. But there had also been costs

arising from the inward pressure of change, loss of external contacts and restriction of the in-service training that teachers had known in the past. Above all, the massive encroachments on time spent on administrative tasks and meetings highlighted the need for more ancillary help and work support.

Thus, the period of 4-5 years that had intervened between the two sets of interviews, had brought about both greater receptiveness and greater resistance. To conceptualise these two states as opposite poles of a continuum is to pose a false dichotomy.

The head-teachers: Beliefs and values

While, as a group, the head-teachers nominated as the 'most important' change in their working lives one relating to the financial management of schools their teachers nominated changes linked to student assessment and evaluation at Key Stages 3 and 4 of the national curriculum. In itself, this indicates differences in cultural contents between levels in the school hierarchy and the two cultures identified earlier appeared to have hardened except for the fact that beliefs and values were most clearly articulated by the head-teachers who, irrespective of the change which had most affected them personally, had an overall view of what it had meant for the school. One Head (HT, 3) who saw that change as a combination of the reform requirements and his own philosophy, said:

> The curriculum is therefore based on *educational values and principles* and this is what I mean by being actively in control. Left to my own devices I would probably have been more prescriptive, but that is not how the school works. The school is not the plaything of the head teacher.

This Head was sensitive to the dilemmas of the teachers and aimed

> to invest them with a sense of control, of professional worth, of empowerment and, at the same time, to develop a *sense of corporate membership and whole school values*... at a time when all central initiatives were moving power, confidence and authority from teachers ... that has been the tension in the dynamic of change - to undertake forward planning in circumstances of instability.

Another Head (HT, 1) saw the problem as 'less one of continuous change but more that changes have been planned against continuously changing targets and *uncertainty over government policy*'.

Beliefs about *the role of central initiatives* were seen as fundamental by HT, 5:

"In education generally, I would say that the change in philosophy about the role and function of schools is the primary area of change... Clearly, it has demanded all sorts of developments in the professional training area and in administration to equip people to respond to imposed change. I do feel that my role has increasingly been pushed in directions for which most of us are not very well equipped. The professional culture of teaching over the last few years has been damaged. I think people's self esteem - the way they perceive they are valued within the British society, expectations of them - amount to what many staff would see as a betrayal of values in a comprehensive school. I think all those things have made staff extremely vulnerable, sometimes confused, sometimes embittered. So I think teachers' perceptions of themselves and their colleagues and other schools have been a major difficulty. The league table is the sharpest example of the *hostile culture* that teachers perceive they are working against."

Summary of Phase 1

The restatement of values by the head teachers reflects how comprehensive school reorganisation was a product of fundamental value judgments about equal opportunity and social division. The conflict between striving for equality and the need for excellence in the pluralistic framework of the 90s continues in the move to a more centralised and utilitarian system and, ideologically, from the needs of the child to the demands of industry and commerce. How widespread have these tendencies been?

Phase 2: Background and Methodology

This was to be a comparative study from the outset and therefore needed to produce findings that could be compared country to country. However, it was not designed as a large-scale survey based on questionnaires but as an interview-based study in which feelings could be probed and insights gained into how the changes were perceived by those who would be most concerned with their implementation.

It was originally envisaged as a qualitative rather than a quantitative methodology, aiming to probe in depth rather than to summarise generalised information over large samples. Nevertheless, a coding system was developed that could yield to statistical analysis. Thus, it was hoped to marry the strengths of both methods of data analysis to achieve both descriptive coverage and inner meanings.

Objectives

The study explored by semi-structured interviews,

1. the characteristics and antecedents of the nominated change
   - how teachers perceived their roles and practices in the management of change,
   - whether and how these varied according to the nature of the change or,
   - according to whether the origins were internal or external to the school,
   - how the changes were introduced, implemented and monitored, and
   - other features that helped or hindered implementation
   -

2. the extent and nature of the impact of the change on the teachers' work lives, including relationships,
   professional development,
   perceptions of student learning,
   their own feelings about the change, and finally,
   how they felt about contributing in any way to future changes

A Conceptual Framework developed to guide the analysis of the data proved to be useful for both qualitative and quantitative purposes that could be applied to both uni-cultural and cross-cultural analyses. A diagrammatic outline of the Phase2 Framework is appended from which it can be seen that the criteria of 'receptiveness' is provided by responses to Interview Questions on the teacher's affective responses to recent and further changes, while 'resistance' is indicated by the teacher's role in the change which, in turn, can be related to environmental and dispositional factors.

All the interview questions are listed in Table 1 'Teacher Perceptions of the Characteristics and Antecedents of Change' and Table 2 'Teacher Perceptions of the Impact of Change on the Work Life'

Sampling

In the English study, interviewees were drawn from 8 schools, which between them, covered a range of different social and economic circumstances. All were state secondary comprehensive schools and each school's sample included two mid-career teachers and two senior staff. The Head of each school was also interviewed but

treated separately as the responses of Heads differed sufficiently from those of the teachers for them to be regarded as a separate sample.

All the interviews were recorded, transcribed and coded according to the schedule and were the basis for statistical analysis between countri

The Findings

Coded responses from the secondary teachers in each country are listed in Tables 1 & 2 as percentages. It is recognized that percentages based on small samples are subject to sampling fluctuations and these figures are intended only as a guide for judging the priorities represented in them. Table 1 presents the antecedents and characteristics of change, while Table 2 presents the teachers' perceptions of the impact of change on important aspects of their work lives.

1 **Receptiveness**

Teachers' feelings about the change (Table 2) were classified into 3 negative and 3 positive, categories and we can see that the responses of the English teachers were overwhelmingly positive (89%) compared with those of the Australian teachers at 46% and Canadians (44%). Of the remainder, only the South African teachers' fell below a 70% positive response, while the Israelis achieved a staggering 96% in favour. Given the ambivalence recorded by the English teachers in Phase 1 we may conclude that the majority was not receptive to the changes at that time but had simply suspended judgment. A positive response in Phase 2 reflects their more active role in implementing the reforms after the Report of the Working Party had been accepted by the government, and the profession was consulted. Practically two thirds considered that there had been a positive impact on professional development since new career opportunities had opened up for many teachers and improved collaboration with colleagues was reflected in the 89% of mentions about the ways in which this had meant greater support for implementation. At the same time, 42% of mentions were concerned that there had been insufficient In-service training and 35% that there had been little planning.

Table 1. Teacher Perceptions of the Characteristics and Antecedents of Change

Study Question	Percentage Response#								
Domain of Change	**Eng.**	**Aus.**	**Hun.**	**Can.**	**Isr.**	**USA**	**NL**	**S.Af.**	**Chi**
School management	7	18	27	9	11	18	9	8	29
Teaching	67	20	46	21	56	40	70	41	31
Learning outcomes	--	42	--	2	5	18	6	14	22
Student experiences	26	20	27	68	28	24	15	38	18
Origin of Change									
Teacher initiated	4	2	19	3	26	26	24	14	26
School initiated	7	12	44	19	50	28	23	19	26
Community initiated	4	2	16	23	5	16	3	14	4
Government Initiated	85	83	22	54	19	30	50	54	44
Objective of Change									
Improve education	39	36	62	48	54	44	52	27	42
Improve account ability	42	34	15	18	20	26	25	8	17
Social objectives	19	30	23	33	26	30	24	65	42
Teacher's Role in Change									
Resister	4	28	3	3	2	2	4	3	2
No role	7	4	15	11	2	12	1	38	12
Supporter	0	24	9	5	2	8	17	5	10
Implementer	48	32	24	45	28	36	57	30	58
Shared decisions	11	4	12	11	19	10	0	11	10
Planner	4	2	15	7	12	8	21	0	2
Initiator	26	6	24	17	35	24	0	6	6
Forces helping implementation**									
Resources provided	22	9	46	29	42	35	41	38	90
Support provided	89	70	54	57	71	75	80	84	68
Professionalism	59	86	46	48	36	60	72	72	42
Forces impeding implementation*									
System resources	48	67	48	67	65	60	52	78	85
Personal resources	48	83	16	3	19	36	70	47	23
Decision-making process	60	79	24	59	27	43	62	75	57
Opposition	20	19	32	31	15	23	25	44	36

Percentage responses are rounded to the nearest whole number
** Interviewees were allowed more than one response to these items

Table 2. Teacher Perceptions of the Impact of Change on the work life

Study Question	Percentage Response#								
Impact on work life**	**Eng**	**Aus**	**Hun**	**Can**	**Isr**	**USA**	**NL**	**S.Af.**	**PRC**
None	22	24	27	9	---	24	3	5	---
Little	---	---	3	5	4	2	4	5	2
Some	7	---	3	21	3	8	21	8	34
Much	33	30	24	35	17	30	59	38	48
Almost all	22	14	21	17	38	30	14	24	10
All	15	32	24	17	40	6	---	19	6
Impact on relationships**									
Negative	63	89	32	67	28	54	15	67	33
None or other	11	7	43	11	9	8	41	24	22
Positive	63	20	39	52	78	68	68	62	59
Impact on professional Development									
Negative	37	56	27	57	5	22	41	54	76
No effect	---	22	---	17	---	---	7	41	14
Positive	63	22	73	26	95	78	52	5	10
Impact on student Learning**									
None	---	14	9	3	2	2	4	3	6
Little	11	20	9	8	---	6	13	---	8
Some	26	16	30	21	12	32	39	22	32
Much	37	24	24	51	25	38	40	46	46
Almost all	19	12	12	9	39	20	4	24	8
All	7	14	15	8	22	2	---	5	---
Teachers' feelings about the change**									
Very negative	---	16	6	12	---	10	3	5	4
Negative	11	22	12	20	---	8	6	16	4
Somewhat negative	---	16	6	24	4	10	12	11	12
Somewhat positive	30	4	9	20	14	14	21	8	32
Positive	44	28	56	12	50	22	53	30	42
Very positive	15	14	12	12	32	36	5	30	6
Willingness to participate in any future change**									
Negative impact	26	34	24	42	4	8	14	19	6
No impact	56	44	32	38	12	52	62	32	58
Positive impact	19	22	44	20	84	40	24	49	36

Percentage responses are rounded to the nearest whole number
* Interviewees were allowed more than one response to these items

Resistance

Only 11 % of the English teachers described themselves as a resister or as having no role, whereas 28% of the Australians styled themselves in this way. Very few of the international samples reported 'no role' except for the South Africans who were in the throes of a political upheaval. Overall, the major role in change was that of Implementer. Israeli teachers were more likely to see themselves as Initiators, whereas the Australian, South Africans and Chinese were unlikely to be cast in that role. The 26%of English teachers who described themselves as Initiators were, no doubt, those who had created sufficient room within the new curriculum regulations to serve the interests of the pupils they taught. The ultimate resisters, however, were those teachers who, under the stress of radical change, had not been able to adapt and had left, or were on the point of leaving at the time of the Phase 2 interviews. Thus, we were recording the feelings of those who had survived the storm and had no access to those who had sunk. No doubt this artificially inflated the positive aspects.

The teachers themselves

Routine information about the teachers' age, gender and marital status had also been obtained and full information existed on these three variables (Table 3). Hence, it was possible to run correlations between them and other selected variables for each of the countries involved. In the case of the English teachers, significant zero-order correlations were found between:

Age and the teachers' perceptions of the degree of impact on the work life, on professional development, on student learning and development, and feelings now about the change.

Gender and the teacher's perception of willingness to take part in any future change and **Marital status** and the teacher's perception of feelings now about the change.

The correlations are extracted from a correlation table showing inter-relationships for all the study variables and were the only ones significant in statistical terms. If we consider their broader significance, however, it will be seen that the teacher's age plays a more important role than either gender or marital status, though this may simply be due to the greater range on this variable compared to the others.

Table 3 Correlation coefficients* between demographic measures & selected study variables (r p)

Impact on teachers' perceptions of:	Gender (1=f, 2=m)	Age (Scale value)	Marital status (1=s, 2=m)	
Teacher's work life (2=none, 6-all)		43, p 04		
Professional development (1=-ve, 3=+ve)		- 40, p 04		
Student learning and experience (1=none, 6=all)		- 37, p 05		) 37, p 05;
Feelings now about change (1=ve, 6=+ve)		46, p 05	37, p 06	)
Willing to take part in similar change (1=less, 3=more)				) 42, p 03
Willing to take part in any future change (1=less, 3=more)	- 35, p 05			)

*Only significant results (p< 05) are reported

The older the teacher, the greater seems the impact on the working life, and the more positive the feelings about it. The younger teachers were more likely to regard the impact on student learning and development as positive. Single teachers also expressed more positive feelings than married ones, and women teachers were more willing then men to become involved in any form of educational change. Feelings about change tend to become more positive when teachers perceive it to have had a greater effect on students and there is great willingness to take part in future change to the extent that the circumstances are similar to those previously experienced.

Perhaps surprisingly, the variables unrelated to change in this analysis were the teacher's role in the change, his/her own professionalism, collegial relationships and the use of time. Recalling the positive contributions revealed in the qualitative

analysis, one may conclude that they told us a great deal more about the processes of change implementation and its effects, whereas the quantitative analysis has indicated the kind of teacher most likely to be affected by particular aspects of change.

Discussion

Dale (1988) notes that teachers are in the position of being, simultaneously, both the subject and the agent of change. Many of our teachers complied overtly with statutory requirements while reserving the right to maintain freedom of thought and action as far as possible. The term 'strategic compliance' best describes this strategy when teachers have to make changes that they regard as inappropriate for the students they teach. Strategic compliance at institutional level is accompanied by 'strategic individualism (Flinders, 1988) when teachers creatively adapt individualistic patterns of working in response to the daily contingencies of the work environment. A typical contribution was: "I tried to hold on to what was important for our English education in the school and fit the national curriculum into that rather than trying to alter what we were doing to fit the curriculum" Such strategic adaptation to deal with stress and anxiety is a more realistic way of interpreting reaction to change than to speak of receptiveness and resistance..

Conclusions

These patterns of behaviour describe our English teachers' work precisely and any attempt to draw conclusions that might inform teachers, administrators and policy makers in other countries must be treated with caution. The English study is one of imposed change and has to be interpreted within that frame. The findings cannot directly be compared with those of other countries such as Israel where the reported changes have taken place within school initiatives and in quite different political circumstances. Nevertheless, valid between-country comparisons can identify similarities and differences in reactions to similar reform situations and their implications.

Methodologically, this argues for the inclusion of both methods of data collection and analysis in a comparative study which can illustrate the pressure of the legislation itself, the monitoring procedures employed to ensure that it is being implemented, the implications for school, students and teachers. What these mean and how they

operate is illustrated by the interpretive analyses of the qualitative data while the quantitative analyses provide the framework. Both are necessary in a comparative study of change.

Notes

1. The nine countries were Australia (S Australia & Tasmania), Canada(Ontario), China, England (Yorkshire & Oxfordshire), Hungary, Israel, The Netherlands, South Africa, USA (Michigan)

2 Shortly after the introduction of the national curriculum into the primary schools and the subsequent complaints about work overload and the unwieldy processes of teacher-testing, there was a call for a Royal Commission to carry out a review of the educational system. This was rejected by the government but an independent Commission was established and reported in 1993 under the title "Learning to Succeed."

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